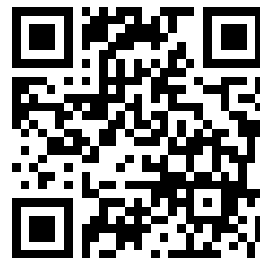


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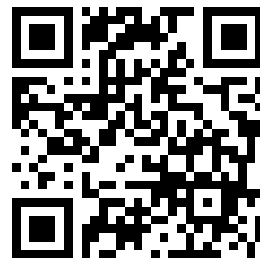


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**THE QUEROLUS AND ITS ORIGIN**

**by**

**WILLIS JAMES BELL**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS**

**UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN**

**1907**



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## INTRODUCTION.

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In view of the controversies which not uncommonly arise over the authorship of comparatively modern works, it would be strange indeed if none should ever have existed regarding the source of literary efforts of times more remote.

Among the various ancient productions that have thus been called into inquisition, probably none have received more attention than the rather insignificant comedy now usually known as the *Querolus*; and certainly no investigations instigated either by literary interest or by dissenting opinions could have been carried to such an extent, and yet borne less fruit in the way of definite conclusions, than the scrutinies to which the above named play has been subjected.

Facing such uncertainties, and not unaware of the difficulties encountered by critics of the past, the present writer can scarcely expect to reveal many secrets that have eluded his numerous and better-provided prede-



cessors. Instead, his aim will be:

FIRST, to state what has been accomplished by critics hitherto, presenting in English those chief points on which there seems to exist a fair concensus of competent authority; citing also such undoubted facts as have already been presented by one or another of the commentators.

SECOND, to make as close as possible a comparison with the *Aulularia* of Plautus, from which it has often been alleged that the *Querolus* originated; at the same time discussing its relation to any other Plautine plays to which it may seem to bear resemblance.

THIRD, to present such existent evidence as may indicate either a non-Plautine or a comparatively modern origin.

In undertaking this task it should be stated too, that the present writer realizes in advance the unavoidable restrictions governed by the paucity of material available to him, as compared with the amount of pertinent matter actually existing. Limitations of this nature will be especially stringent in connection with the first aspect of his discussion.

Works which could render aid in the preparation of this treatise, and which were at hand, are as follows:



1. Haupt, *Opuscula* Vol. III.
2. Bernhardt, *Grundriss der Römischen Literatur*.
3. Reinhardstoettner, *Plautus*.
4. Havet, *Le Querolus: Comedie latine anonyme*.
5. Peiper, *Aulularia sive Querolus*.

Of this list, the first two offer very little assistance; the third devotes a number of pages to a fairly comprehensive statement of known facts, but extremely general in nature; the fourth gives the entire text with discrepancies of words and phrases sometimes supplied, to preserve the rhythm. Unfamiliarity with the language in which this book is written unfortunately prevented the author's comments from contributing any extensive assistance. The fifth contains not only the author's entire recension, but also a number of pages of very valuable comments and suggestions, in Latin.



## Chapter 1.

MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED EDITIONS.

There are four complete or nearly complete manuscripts of this play now extant, as follows:

1. Vaticanus, (V), a 9th or 10th century manuscript.
2. Leidensis Vossianus (L), a 10th century manuscript.

Both the preceding are considered reliable by scholars who have examined them; one was prepared from the other.

3. Palatinus (P), a manuscript apparently done in Germany in the 13th century.
4. Parisinus (Rp), conformable to V and L, and evidently prepared from them, but said to be inferior. It is variously considered to belong to the 10th, 11th or 12th century.

Both P and Rp, according to Peiper, have been altered and corrupted in many places.

From these four manuscripts all printed editions have been prepared. Following is a complete list:

1. By Peter Daniel, 1564; title, "Querolus, antiqua



Comoedia numquam antehac edita, quae in vetusto codice manuscripto Plauti Aulularia inscribitur".

Thus Daniel merely states, without committing himself, that this ancient comedy never before published "is called" the Aulularia of Plautus in the old manuscript. In the compilation of his work the editor seems to have used manuscript L chiefly at least. A specimen exists at Göttingen.

2. By Commelinus, 1595; title, "Querolus sive Aulularia Plauti". The editor derived his material from P. Specimens of this edition may be seen at Heidelberg and Guelpherbytana.

3. By Pareus, 1610; title, "Plauti Comoediae Superstites XII; in quibus accessit Querolus, comoedia antiqui auctoris", thus implying, if not directly declaring, a distinction. To this work of Pareus another version of the Querolus was added in 1619, and still another in 1641; finally, late in the 18th century the work was revised anew by Wernsdorf, under the caption "Querolus sive Aulularia, Plauti Comoedia antiqui auctoris." This was prepared from manuscript P, but was never published. Wernsdorf's original is preserved at Bonn.

4. By Klinkhamer, 1829; title, "Querolus sive Aulularia: Incerti auctoris comoedia togata." The editor



was guided by manuscript L.

5. By Peiper, 1875; title, "Anlularia sive Querolus".

6. By Havet, 1880; title, "Le Querolus; Comede latine anonyme". This was Havet's thesis, presented to the faculty at Paris, and shows evidence of much careful work. No other complete editions than the six above enumerated have yet appeared; though several classical students have treated selected portions of the Querolus passim in their works.



## Chapter 2.

RELATIONSHIP TO AULULARIA AND OTHER EARLY WORKS.

---

From the titles given their works it is noticeable that Daniel, Commelinus, and Pareus either attributed the play to Plautus without question, or did not offer an opinion as to its authorship. On the other hand, the three 19th century editors agree that the author is unknown, and do not even refer to Plautus as a possibility in that connection.

In addition to the opinions of the various editors thus expressed, comments by a few other critics are here given.

Reinhardstoettner says it doubtless was founded on Aulularia, is similar, and is often called by that name; but that it is a less meritorious production, whose author and time of appearance are unknown, notwithstanding in Mediaeval times it was unanimously attributed to Plautus. He also says it shows unmistakeable evidence of Christian influence, though citing Havet as being of contrary opinion. Playwrights for centuries, says Reinhardstoettner, have obtained material from Querolus and from Aulularia.



The better resulting comedies are those following Plautus. Italians usually chose to copy Querolus.

Haupt, *Opuscula* Vol. III, p. 587 alludes briefly to Querolus as distinct from Aulularia, though often confounded with it.

Bernhardy, *Grundriss der Römischen Litteratur*, page 458, says "Querolus is a spiritless comedy built up on Aulularia, which had probably become disintegrated into prose prior to the fourth century".

Binder calls it a lifeless compilation ("geistloses Machwerk").

Ward (Augustus William) says, "Querolus was composed between the fourth and seventh centuries. It is plainly an imitation of Aulularia. The Christian doctrine is evident in the management of its close."

Inasmuch as the title Aulularia was given this comedy both by ancient manuscripts and by the early recensio- nists, it will be well at this point to make a brief comparison of the plots of the two; at the same time adducing the more obvious particulars in which there is sufficient resemblance to indicate a relationship.

To begin with, the Querolus has a prologue spoken by the Lar Familiaris, as has also the Aulularia; whereas, no other play of Plautus is introduced by that character.



Still it is not unusual for Plautus to have a prologue rendered by some Roman or Greek deity, or by some canonised concept. In illustration may be cited *Rudens*, with its long prologue by Arcturus; *Amphitruo*, with an extensive introduction by Mercurius; and *Trinummus*, opening with a dialogue between *Luxuria* and *Inopia*. Indeed, the important part played by the *Lar Familiaris* in *Querolus* more resembles that of Mercury in *Amphitruo*, as in both these comedies the prefacing deity takes also a more or less active part in the plot. On the other hand, the *Lar Familiaris* in *Aulularia* makes merely an explanation of the play about to be presented, not much more complete than the prefixed *argumenta*.

As to the plots of *Querolus* and *Aulularia*, there are a few resemblances, and some wide differences. The scheme of *Aulularia* runs thus: A thesaurus of gold buried under the hearth has already descended to the third generation, and is being cared for by the *Lar Familiaris*, who never even revealed its existence to the lawful second-generation heir. The *Lar* having kindly told the secret to *Euclio*, heir of the third generation, the action of the play begins. *Euclio* is a confirmed miser, whose solicitude lest his gold may be stolen by the servants or others gives him an excess of trouble - and also occasions con-



siderable trouble for others. Megadorus, an elderly gentleman, wishes to marry Euclio's daughter; but eventually he withdraws in favor of his nephew Lyconides, whose relationship to the girl, it is later revealed, has already transgressed legitimate bounds.

Meantime, Lyconides's servant having noticed Euclio re-hiding his gold, stealthily digs it up. Thus enriched, he approaches his master in the hope of purchasing freedom. Lyconides, fresh from a stormy scene with his future father-in-law, understands where the servant must have obtained his sudden wealth, and orders its return.

As the extant portion of the play breaks off in the midst of this scene, we are indebted to the argumenta for the knowledge that Euclio ultimately gets his money back; and in his joy rewards the informant Lyconides by giving him a portion of the gold along with the daughter.

In Querolus the plot is substantially this: Euclio, about to go abroad, has buried his hoard in an urn in his house. To insure the safety of his money further he has sprinkled perfume on the urn and has had inscribed on it: TRIERINUS TRICIPITINI FILIUS CONDITUS ET SEPULTUS HIC IACET.

Having set out, he has left the home in possession of his son Querolus, to whom he has not confided the secret



of the buried treasure. About to die in a distant land, he has called to his side his parasite Mandrogerus, and has made him joint-heir with Querolus, provided he will faithfully reveal the matter to the son. Euclio has merely told the parasite the location of the treasure, saying nothing about the sepulchral conditions under which it is concealed.

Here the action of the play really begins. The parasite Mandrogerus sails for the home of Querolus; arrived at which place, he breaks his faith and feigns himself a magician and an astrologer and "whatever a thief can feign".

By his knowledge of the family secrets he is able to convince Querolus of his supernatural nature, though of course he has learned the secrets merely through association with the father Euclio.

Querolus asks his aid in driving out the bad fortune that has hitherto infested his house. The compliant magician-parasite agrees to purify the place. Digging in the hiding-place, he finds the urn, which is itself inclosed within another receptacle. He summons Querolus to help him carry out the heavy "mala fortuna". This done, he bids the householder return within and remain with bolted doors to prevent any re-entrance on the part of the mala fortuna.



Left now free to carry out his designs, he makes a closer examination of his find; deceived by the funereal inscription, he believes Euclio has victimized him with a joke. Burning with a desire for revenge he stealthily approaches a window and throws the urn into the room occupied by Querolus and attendants. The force of the fall shatters the urn, and discloses its golden contents to the company present. Mandrogerus hearing their joyful exclamation and guessing the cause, hastens to present his claim for a share.

The acute Querolus places him in a dilemma by accusing him of having stolen the thesaurus, and of having thrown a corpse in through the window; demanding then what claim he has on any gold. Mandrogerus finally selects the alternative by which he acknowledges himself a thief. After some sport at the expense of the unhappy culprit, a rather unusual outcome is given the affair: Peace and friendship is established between the two, and a parasitship is conferred on Mandrogerus.

The play, so far as we have it preserved, breaks off here, leaving the final scene incomplete. There is evidence that Ancient and Mediaeval critics attributed this work to Plautus; of such authorities we will cite a few of the best known:



Servius, fourth century, in his Virgilian Commentary makes reference to "Plautus in Querolo de anseribus".

Vitalis Blesensis, eighth century, expressed the Querolus in elegiac verses, and says:

"Haec mea vel Plauti comoedia nomen ab olla  
 "Traxit; sed Plauti quae fuit, illa mea est.  
 "Curtavi Plantum: Plantum haec iactura beavit;  
 "Ut placeat Plautus, scripta Vitalis emunt  
 "Amphitryon nuper, nunc Aulularia tandem  
 "Senserunt senso pressa Vitalis opem".

John of Salisbury, twelfth century, in certain of his writings refers to the Querolus, and appears to have read it all. He attributes it to Plautus.

There is a noticeable resemblance between the Querolus and the Aulularia in that each makes much action center about a buried pot of gold. But in the Querolus the master of the house is wholly unaware of the hidden treasure; whereas in the Aulularia not only does Euclio know of it, but the greater part of the play is enlivened by the narrative of his efforts to keep the secret from others. Another vital difference is the absence of any love plot in the Querolus, to offset that of the Aulularia.

Aside from the resemblance given by the circumstance of the buried treasures, each play has also its Euclio;



the roles of the two, however, are very different. The similarity and the difference in the parts played by the two lares has already been considered.

A critical examination of the texts of these comedies will also reveal a number of co-incident and similar expressions. In the following list, the numbers under the heading of Querolus indicate the page and line in Peiper's edition:

<u>QUEROLUS</u>	11. <u>AULULARIA</u>
6:1 Ego sum custos et cultor domus.	2-4 Ego Lar sum familiaris.. .....hanc domum ....possideo et colo.
8:1 Sed quid cesso interpellare atque adloqui.	627 Sed ego cesso currere
9:13 Audi nunc iam.	789 Audi nunciam (nunc iam, ancient)
26:7 Mecum una simul	655 Tecum simul
27:6 Habeo gratiam	209 Habeo gratiam
36:12 Tui aliquid	645 Tui quicquam 654
40:17 Meus ille (dominus) credo iam nunc clamabit ut solet.	37 Sed hic senex iam clamat intus ut solet.
41:7 Circumspectator	41 Circumspectatrix
41:19 Edopol novi et scio.	765-6 Neque ego aurum neque istaec aula quae siet scio nec novi.
42:10 Nihilque intra aedes recipias	90 Cave quemquam alienum in aedis intro miseris.



QUEROLUS11 AULULARIA

42:11	Ipsam bonam fortunam clamantem pulsan- tem hodie nemo audiat.	100	Si Bona Fortuna veniat, ne intro miseris.
46:5	Audieram egomet olere aurum; istud etiam re- dolet.	216	Aurum huic olet
46:14	Si recinenti et monen- ti credidisset graculae.	624	Non temere est quod cor- vos cantat mihi nunc ab laeva manu.
52 et seq.	Querolus demand- ing gold of Mandrogerus, cf.,	Act IV.Sc.X	Euclio's de- mands on Lyconides.
55:9	Ego iam nunc ubinam praetor sedeat investi- gabo celeriter, etc.	760	Iam quidem hercle te ad praetorem rapiam et tibi scribam dicam.

That the Aulularia has more of action and variation,  
is indicated by the following comparison.

QUEROLUSAULULARIA

Act I has 2 scenes

" II " 4 "

" III " 2 "

" IV " 2 "

" V Incomplete; breaks  
off in fourth scene.  
Employs seven characters,  
all male.

Act I has 2 scenes

" II " 9 "

" III " 6 "

" IV " 10 "

" V Incomplete; breaks  
off in first scene.  
Employs nine male and three  
female characters, besides  
tibicinae.

Besides the above cited similar expressions of  
Querolus and Aulularia, there are also a considerable num-  
ber of resemblances to expressions used by Plautus in



other plays - about as many as will be found by carefully comparing any one genuine Plautine comedy with all the others. Klinckhamer, with the aid of Peter Daniel, found between fifty and sixty such cases.

In like manner twenty or more Terentian expressions have been found. Herewith are given a few specimens taken from the *Andria* alone.

<u>QUEROLUS</u>		<u>ANDRIA</u>	
8:1	Cesso interpellare atque adloqui	343	Cessas adloqui
		845	Cesso adloqui
11:9	Non facile intellego, periurium ioculari quid putas	782	Iocularium in malum insciens paene incidi
15:11	Habeat, teneat, possideat seque cum suis	889	Immo habeat, valeat, vivat cum illa
56:12	Hac non processit, alia temptandum est via	670	Hac non successit, alia adgrediemur via
56:25	Etiamne circuitione rem geris?	202	Ita aperte ipsam rem modo locutus nil circum itione usus es.



## Chapter 3.

## PARALLELS IN WORKS OF CLASSICAL PERIOD AND LATER.

There is abundant evidence also that the author of the Querolus borrowed much from writers other than those of ante-Classical times already considered. With the principal ones of these we will now make some comparisons:

<u>QUEROLUS</u>	<u>VIRGIL</u>
18:19 Habes nunc plane tota mente quod rogas	Aen.IV:100 Habes tota quod mente petisti
20:19 Obscuris vera invol- vere	Aen.VI:100 Obscuris vera involvens
28:15 Neque mihi dicere ne- que vobis audire est utile	Aen III:621 Nec visu facilis, nec dictu affabilis ulli
29:4-5 Messes hac atque illac transferunt.	Ecl.VIII:99. Atque satas alio vidi traducere messes
50:15-5 Inde ubi sonuerit unus, cuncti alas quatunt diris cum clangoribus.	Aen.III:225 et seq. At sub- itae horripilo lapsu de montibus adsunt Harpyae et magnis quatunt clangoribus alas.
31:6-7 Anubi nupta nostro lat- ranti deo	Aen.VIII:698 Latrator Anubis



31:21-22 Nisi ramus aureus  
adfuisset, Aeneas non  
evaserat.

Aen.VI:406 et seq. contains  
basis of the allusion.

42:3 Monita quae iam nunc  
dabo sensibus imis cape

Ecl.III:54 Sensibus haec  
imis, res est non parva,  
reponas.

### QUEROLUS

42:5-6 Nec di sinant una  
sit illa istaec et per-  
petua via.

42:15-16 Dum tantum modo  
inter me ac fortunam  
meam solum paries in-  
tersit

46:20-21 Et quid ego non  
merui qui agelasto illi  
et perfido fidem accom-  
modavi.

54:8 O tempora, O mores!

58:23 Hui multarum palma-  
rum hic est, recipe  
quaeso iuris instruct-  
issimum

30:21 De istis (anseribus)  
quondam magnus dixit  
Tullius: "Anseribus  
cibaria publice locan-  
tur, et canes aluntur  
in capitolio".

### CICERO

In Pisonem XIV:33 Sic exire  
e patria....ut omnes ex-  
ecrarentur, male pre-  
carentur, unam tibi illam  
viam et perpetuam esse  
vellent?

In Cat. I:5 Dum modo inter  
me atque te murus in-  
tersit.

De Fin 92. At hoc in eo M.  
Crasso quem semel ait  
in vita risisse Lucil-  
ius non contigit, ut ea  
re minus agelastos, ut  
ait idem, vocaretur.

In Cat.I:1 O tempora, O mores!

Pro Roscio 17. Alter plur-  
imarum palmarum vetus  
ac nobilis gladiator  
habetur.

Pro Roscio XX:56 Anseribus  
cibaria publice locantur  
et canes aluntur in  
capitolio



QUEROLUS

18:15 Sume igitur et podagram Titi.

13:11-13 Illud proreus non fero quod tenuitati nemo ignoscit, neque cuiquam, ut aliquem dicat pauperem

18:21 Cum pondere Nestoris

32:13-14 Hae atque illae totum per orbem iuxta terras pervolant. Dignitos ad praedam exacunt curvis timendos unguibus

45:3-6 Plus est hoc quam hominem perdidisse damnum vere plangitur....aurum in cinerem versum est

46:5,6,12 Istud (bustum) etiam redolet....cuius adhuc sic redolet dignitas

JUVENAL

XIII:96 Pauper locupletem optare podagram, nec dubitet Ladas.

XI:2-3 Quis enim maiore cachinno excipitur vulgi, quam pauper Apicius?  
III:152-153 Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in sequam quod ridiculos homines facit

VI:326 Nestoris hernia

VII:129-130 Cuncta per oppida curvis unguibus ire parat nummos raptura Calaeno  
XIII:169-170 Raptusque per aera curvis unguibus

XIII:130,131,134. Maiore tumultu plangitur nummi quam funera....ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris

IV:108-109 Et matutino sudans crispinus amomo Quantum vix redolent duo funera.



## Chapter 4.

### OTHER INDICATIONS OF LATE ORIGIN.

---

While the existence of so many apparent parallels with the later writers doubtless is sufficient evidence that Plautus is not responsible for this anonymous comedy, these parallels are by no means the only evidence of that nature. The following indications of a more modern origin are in most instances cited in the order of occurrence in the text, rather than with regard to grouping of any sort. The conclusion of the author's introduction is herewith given, as several references will be made to it:

"Pacem quietemque vobis! Spectatores, noster sermo poeticus rogat, qui Graecorum disciplinas ore narrat barbaro et Latinorum vetusta vestro recolit tempore. Praeterea precatur et sperat non inhumana voce, ut qui vobis laborem indulsit, vestram referat gratiam. Aululariam hodie sumus acturi, non veterem at rudem, investigatam Plauti per vestigia.....In ludis autem atque dictis antiquam nobis veniam exposcimus. Nemo sibimet arbitretur dici quod nos populo dicimus neque propriam sibimet causam



constituat communi ex loco. Nemo aliquid recognoscat: nos mentimur omnia. Querolus an Aulularia haec dicatur fabula, vestrum hinc iudicium, vestra erit sententia. Prodire autem in agendum non auderemus cum clodo pede, nisi magnos praeclarosque in hac parte sequeremur duces."

1. The dedicatory part of this introduction is addressed to Rutilius, a Latin poet of the fifth century.

2. The author says this is Aulularia - "not the old one, but an unrefined one", which he has made by following Plautus's footsteps.

3. Though Wernsdorf understood the author to be apologizing for doggerel, in the use of the term 'clodo pede', later recensionists have thought the expression referred to elegiac verses. This meter was much used by Ovid and by others in epistolary, amatory, and mournful poetry, but not in comedy. It was in common use throughout the Middle Ages.

It will be in order to state here two other explanations that have been offered:

Klinkhamer decided that the 'clodus pes' meant the capricious mixture of iambs and trochaics; whereas Havet, after characterizing Klinkhamer's view as a "peculiar one", says: "The real truth of the matter it seems has escaped modern critics. The correct clue is given by the following



gloss on manuscript V., - 'Claudum pedem dicit iambum propter brevem et longam ....'. By a little expansion of this gloss it appears that a clodus pes refers not to the verse, but to feet whose parts are unequal: i.e., iambic or trochaic."

4. Closing the dedication the author employs the formula "Vivas incolumis atque felix votis nostris et tuis." This is a familiar expression of authors of the Theodosian Age.

5. Peiper 31:20 et seq. "Ego autem ipsum vidi Cerberum ubi, nisi ramus aureus adfuisset, Aeneas non evaserat" exemplifies the use of the Pluperfect Indicative in the apodosis of an unreal conditional sentence whose protasis is negative, and whose conclusion is one that might be confidently anticipated<sup>1</sup>. This usage is unexemplified until post-Augustan times.

6. Peiper 50:6 Ego non credideram nisi quod illico inspexi locum....." is another illustration similar to the preceding, having also the Indicative in the protasis; a construction admissible when nisi is equivalent to sed. But Gildersleeve cites only the Imperfect Indicative so used<sup>2</sup>.

1. Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar, 597, Remark 2.

2. Ibid.



7. Peiper 13:22 "Hoc si agnosceres, felix eras" differs from the two preceding, inasmuch as the context would indicate it to be an Ideal Condition; at the same time, the Imperfect Indicative of the apodasis apparently is used to emphasize the certainty of the felicity contingent on the knowledge to which the protasis alludes.

Considering next the comedy as a whole, it is pertinent to note:

8. Just as Plautus sometimes explains in his prologues that he follows Greek models, so the author of the Querolus says this is a copy of Plautus.

9. The contracted forms itast, verumst, etc., so frequent in Plautus, are absent from the Querolus.

10. The author of the Querolus is fairly successful in imitating the language of Plautus, including generally an identity of interjections. There is one exception regarding the latter expressions: Eight times in the Querolus occurs the risorial outburst hahaha, while Plautus seems to use it but once in the entire twenty plays; and in that single instance (Poenulus 778) Lindsay has hahahae.

It now remains to note those instances in which the sentiment would indicate that the Querolus was written in an age influenced by the Christian religion:



11. In the prefatory dedication occurs the sentiment "Pecunia rerum ac sollicitudinum causa est et caput". This certainly flavors of I Tim. VI:10 "For the love of money is the root of all evil: which, while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows".

12. Peiper 9:11 "Quare iniustis bene est, et iustis male?" sounds like the "flourishing of evil-doers," of which Psalm XXXVII treats.

13. The Lar endeavors to impress on Querolus that it is wrong even to think evil. (Peiper 10:28) The sentiment resembles I Cor. XIII: 5, "Charity.....thinketh no evil". In connection with this bit of teaching the Lar indulges in a mother-in-law joke. It is herewith presented, not as an addition to our Christian Evidences, but as a variation from the proverbial "apud novercam quaerere", and too good to lose:

Lar: "Querolus, you have hated your neighbors, and even wished some of them dead".

Quer: "No, I certainly never felt that way toward anyone".

Lar: "Are you quite sure?"

Quer: "Sure."

Lar: "But, Querolus, did you never have a mother-in-law?"



14. Strangely noble for Paganism is also this sentiment: "Querolus, often he lies who remains silent: it is as great a wrong to silence the truth as to speak a falsehood." There are a number of other equally good things said in this same dialogue between the Lar and the householder. We will cite one more instance:

15. Lar: "If thieves beset you, let them freely take".

Quer: "Then if someone applies the torch to my roof, do you advise me to pour on oil?"

Altruistic teaching of this kind is as lofty as that which suggests the surrendering of the cloak to the successful litigant who has already won the coat, or the turning of the left cheek to the enemy who has just smitten the right.

16. The doctrine of forgiveness is taught in the final scenes, where Mandrogerus is allowed to share Querulos's fortune, notwithstanding his recent fraudulent scheming.

In summing up, it is safe to claim for the Querolus a somewhat higher moral plane, judged by modern standards, than can be accorded any of the plays of Plautus. On two grounds, however, it might be judged not composed under Christian influence; first, because the work and



material of comedies was odious to early Christian doctrines; second, the introduction of the Lar and the mention of other gods would seem hardly the work of a Christian writer.



## Chapter 5.

CONCLUSION.

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Though Peiper's edition was the great source of material for this thesis, and his text the only one followed in our study of the comedy, it would seem a gross injustice to pass the monumental work of Havet with scarcely the equivalent of honorable mention.

Havet's chief labor was the restoration in verse of that which others had been content to leave prose. He found the Querolus to consist of about 1300 lines; of these, 220 needed no alteration from the reading in the prose versions; 600 become perfect verse when given one alteration each; 200 required "more violent treatment"; the remaining 200 lines and more have hitherto resisted all efforts, and hence opportunity for labor on the subject still remains.

As to the nature of these verses, there were found about 120 trochaic and 120 iambic needing no change to perfect them; 25 permitted scansion in both meters; a dozen trochaics and a few iambs resulted when treated



to one change each in word form; 40 trochaics and 40 iambs resulted from one transposition each in the first hemistich.

Still other lines required both insertions and transpositions to secure a rythm; while grammatical changes, various poetical licenses, and other more or less violent expedients were found necessary on passages having still greater powers of resistance.

The entire text thus treated is given by Havet, under the heading "Appendice Justificatif".

For final consideration we have reserved those facts and apparent truths concerning the origin of the Querolus which tend to locate it as to period and author.

The author's dedication, with no parallel in Plautus, is similar to dedications of other writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. The statement "Sic nostra loquitur Graecia" indicates the writer to have been a Gaul; the Greek language being fashionable in Gallic literature in the time of Theodosius.

The introduction eulogizes Rutilius (fourth century) to some extent, and also tells something of the author's own social and financial status. He was not a public man, nor a distinguished one; but he was by profession a



grammaticus or rhetor, and was very fond of letters.

He was a Gallie neighbor of Rutilius, if the latter was a Gaul. Peiper on this point recalls one Palladius as neighbor of Rutilius, the said Palladius having also lived at Ostia, and later at Rome. The fact that successful men of letters sometimes attached other adepts to themselves as aides, would probably correctly explain the term "neighbor". Ostia was a beautiful and lively place, capable of furnishing plenty of material for a comedy; and as Palladius was one whose death the Ostians are said especially to have mourned, it seems quite possible that he may have written stories for them.

Palladius, moreover, must have been somewhat versed in Philosophy, History, Nature, and Astrology; and the Querolus gives evidence that its author had some learning along these lines.

"Yet", confesses Peiper, "I realize clearly that in spite of these circumstances, I have by no means proven that Palladius was the real author. It is rather to be confessed, that the author by seeking fame and favor through the name of Plautus completely shut out opportunity for the disclosure of his own name."



## APPENDIX.

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On the following pages are presented translations of the author's dedication and his prologue; also a few of the most vital and ingenious scenes of the comedy. With these as a criterion of its character in general, guided by the plot-outline given in Chapter II, the reader can form a fair estimate of the literary merits of the QUEROLUS.

### Dedication.

O Rutilius, to whom reverence and great praise are always due, who givest to theatrical plays what we may call a respectful attention: While thou thinkest me worthy of honor among thy neighbors and those nearer unto thee, with a great and double benefit, I own, dost thou endow me. Now, therefore, what recompense suited to thy deserts can I offer? Money, that cause and source of disputes and troubles, abounds not in my possession, neither is it of great worth unto thee.



A great deal of labor has endowed me with some trifling literary ability; from this shall proceed thine honor, thy recompense, thy reward. That something of dignity may be contributed to our work, we have taken our material from thy philosophy. Dost remember, thou hast been wont to ridicule those who lament their bad fortune, and in Academic fashion didst destroy and construct according as pleased thee?

But to what import, this? He only who knows will understand the matter at hand. We have written this booklet in scenes and sections. This is the substance of it:.....(Here follows a synopsis of the play, which need not be repeated, as the plot has already been somewhat more elaborately given in Chapter II).....To thy name, therefore, O illustrious Rutilius, this little story of ours is dedicated. Be thou happy and well according to our desires and thine.

### Prologue.

Peace and quiet to you! Spectators, our poetical production is speaking, which recalls to you the learning of the Greeks and the ancient times of the Romans. It hopes and prays too, in a rather human way, that he who has given you his labor may bear away your approbation.

Today we are to act the *Aulularia*; not the ancient



one, but a rough one, composed by treading in Plautus' footsteps. Our little story is this: we bring in a lucky man favored by his own fates, and on the other hand a deceptive one cheated by his own deception. Querolus, who will soon appear, will understand the whole story. He is our ungrateful character; he is to turn out lucky. Mandrogerus, on the contrary, will come forth fraudulent and wretched. The Lar Familiaris himself, who comes on first, will expound all. If the recital weary you, the material will refresh you.

In the play and in the language we ask for ourselves the customary pardon. Let no one take as meant for himself what we speak to the crowd, nor imagine a personal thrust in our impersonal jokes. Let no one recognize anything; we are pretending it all. Querolus or Aulularia this story may be called; yours shall be the judgment and decision on this point. Moreover, we would not have dared proceed in our task with clodus pes, were we not in this respect copying great and famous leaders.

ACT III, SCENE I: Mandrogerus and Querolus.

Mand: Put off from your shoulders, Querolus, the weight so heavy. Sufficient has been done for piety's sake, in that you yourself have carried your ill-fortune out-doors.



Quer: O Mandrogerus, I confess I never believed this could be done. The outcome proves your power and your piety. That casket, when I carried it in a moment ago, how light it was for me alone; and now how heavy for the two of us!

Mand: Don't you know, nothing is heavier than ill-fortune?

Quer: I know it now, by Pollux.

Mand: Gods preserve you man, this that you are speaking of succeeds me beyond all hope. I know no other home so purified. Whatever there was of misfortune and poverty, we have it penned up.

Quer: I wonder, by Hercules, whence such a weight?

Mand: That cannot be briefly explained. It usually happens with others that this ill-fortune cannot be moved, even with many horses. Well, to another matter: my attendants will throw that expiatory stuff into the river. Now give most careful heed to the advice I am about to offer; the ill-fortune we have carried out will try to re-enter the house.

Quer: May the Gods forbid that there should always be that one route for it!

Mand: Notwithstanding, there is to you this danger, that this ill-fortune may attempt to return to you. So just remain shut within doors throughout a period of



three days and nights. Let nothing leave your house, and permit nothing to enter. Reject alike, neighbors, acquaintances, friends, as if strangers. Even good-fortune herself knocking and clamoring, let no one hear today. Then when the three days are past you will not have in your home that which you have shut out of it. So go in now.

Quer: Surely; and gladly I do it, if only so a wall may intervene between me and my ill-fortune.

Mand: Hurry up! Ho, Querolus, make the doors secure.

Quer: 'Tis done.

Mand: Apply the bolts and chains.

Quer: I shall do it thoroughly.

### ACT III. SCENE 2

Mandrogerus, Sycofanta, and Sardanapallus.

Mand: Beautifully, by Gemini, the affair has proceeded! The man has been found, despoiled, and shut up. But where shall we now examine the urn? or where shall we smash the casket and decamp ere some tokens betray the theft?

Sycof: I don't know, by Pollux, unless somewhere on the river.

Sard: Do you believe it, Mandrogerus, I hardly have dared look at the urn for joy.



Sycoph: Nor I either.

Mand: But now, by Hercules, there is need of action before delay brings on suspicion.

Sycoph: That's true.

Mand: First it had to be found; that has already been accomplished. Now it is safe.

Sycoph: Whatever you wish to say, Mandrogerus, let us withdraw a little. I can't believe myself till I have seen the gold.

Mand: Nor I; come on.

Sycoph: This way, or that; but to a secluded spot.

Mand: The deuce! all the roads are being watched; the river banks are crowded. Let's go somewhere, quick!

#### ACT IV, SCENE 2.

Mandrogerus, Sycophanta, and Sardanapallus.

Mand: O, wretched me!

Sycoph: O, unhappy me!

Sard: O, me, naked and shipwrecked!

Sycoph: O Mandrogerus, master!

Sard: O my Sycophanta.

Mand: O father Sardanapallus!

Sard: Put on mourning, wretched companions, and the covering of your capes. This is worse than to have killed a man. An injury, indeed, do we lament.



What now ye powerful, what think you of this treasure-box? The gold has changed into ashes. Would that all gold might do so! we would be much the better off.

Mand: Put down the worthless load; let us weep tears over the corpse. O false thesaurus, if only I had not followed you over seas and through storms! On your account I sailed happily; on your account I did everything. Did I become astrologer and magician that buried men might deceive me? I foretold the futures of others; my own fates I knew not. Now at last I comprehend these varied phantasmata. Evidently there was good fortune here, but it was intended for another, not for me. These fates of ours have altered it; we have found a thesaurus, but the wrong one. But why this perversity? I never wept over my own, yet now I bewail someone else's. And does not my righteous grief move you, O Querolus?

Sard: O cruel gold, what disease carried you off? What funeral-pyre consumed you thus? What magician spirited you away? You have disinherited us, O thesaurus; where now shall we, so rejected, go? Where is there a pot in which we can hide?

Mand: Approach it, friend; examine the jar over and over.



Sycoph: Seek hope elsewhere friend; this offers none.

Mand: Read again, please, the title of the dead, and the whole inscription.

Sard: Nay, comrade, if you please; I cannot bear to touch a dead body. There is nothing I dread more.

Sycoph: You are a coward, you Sardanapallus; I'll read it:  
'Here lies buried Trierinus, son of Tricipitinus'.  
Ah me, ah me!

Mand: How do you feel?

Sycoph: My heart is in my mouth. I had heard that gold smells; that stuff even stinks!

Mand: How does it smell?

Sycoph: That leaden box exhales through its pores the horriblemst odors! Never before did I find gold that stank so. It certainly is redolent, with usury.

Mand: What is the odor of ashes?

Sycoph: It is a sweet, sad odor, such as the cultivated but unhappy seek after.

Mand: This urn seems to have been treated with proper respect, whose dignity now is so redolent.

Sycoph: I should not have received this blow, had I believed the jackdaws when they warned and cautioned me.

Sard: I should not have fallen into the snare if I had heeded the warning of the bob-tailed dog.



Mand: How, pray, did he warn you?

Sard: He bit me fiercely in both legs as I was going down the alley.

Mand: I wish he had so ripped up your legs that you had never moved a step from there. O dead Euclio, did you not deceive me sufficiently while living - can't you desist, now that you are dead? And what have I not merited, who trusted so implicitly to that perfidious dry-joker? And behold, even in death he made sport of my fortune!

Sycof: Well, what shall we do now?

Mand: What, indeed, unless that which we suggested a while ago - that we at least avenge ourselves properly on his son Querolus? And him, seeing he is easily duped, shall we make sport with in wonderful fashion. We will stealthily throw the pot in through the window to him, so that he himself may begin to wail over the one we just now were bemoaning; then cautiously approach and hear what Querolus does.

Sard: Good scheme!

Mand: Go ahead, then, by Pollux; but watch sharply.

Sard: Why, - what do I see, everyone inside is holding torches and sticks.



**Mand:** I'll bet, by Pollux, they are on the lookout for that ill-fortune of his, the credulous fellow. Go up and frighten them terribly; declare you are that bad fortune, and threaten to break into the house.

**Sard:** Ho, Querolus!

**Quer (within):** Fellow, who are you?

**Sard:** Watch your doors, quick!

**Quer:** What for?

**Sard:** See how I re-enter my home.

**Quer:** Ho, Zeta! Pantamalus, ho! stand guard at every point.

**Sard:** Say, Querolus!

**Quer:** Why, please, are you calling my name?

**Sard:** I am your fortune, which the magician foretold would return.

**Quer:** Be off at once, ill-fortune, to where the priest conveyed you. Leave me; I will not admit even good fortune coming today.

**Mand:** Hark you, Sycofanta; lure the fellows over to that door, while I throw the corpse in through the window.

**Sycof:** Open this door!

**Quer:** Here, everybody! Quick!



**Mand:** Behold, Querolus, a thesaurus which Euclio left you. May you always have it by you, and leave it to your children. (to his companions) Everything is done now; let's quickly to our ship, lest even now some evil may unexpectedly arise here for us.

**Sard:** Ah! What has happened today has got to be borne. Only let me step back here a moment. I lose the secret if I do not hear Querolus's words, for he is a credulous as well as very superstitious fellow. How does he now shudder over the dead? I'll place my ear here cautiously. Eh? What do I hear? They are all rejoicing and dancing within. Hope leaves me, I'll listen again. It has happened! A blessing comes to them; to us, therefore, to us a curse. They are all looking for money-bags, boxes, and caskets. They are looking at gold. The coins inside are jingling. Alas, wretched me! There was life where we thought death was buried. We erred badly, but not un-naturally. We were mistaken, but not entirely. There has been a metamorphosis here; we stole away a corpse, and cast it through the window as gold. But what now for me? This alone remains for me, that I shall be held a thief now. I will go to my fellow-plotters, so that I need not



weep over this great wrong and funeral alone.

ACT V, SCENE 3

Querolus, Arbiter, Mandrogerus.

Mand: Hello, my dear Querolus.

Quer: Do you salute me as if you had not already seen me today, gallows-bird?

Mand: Why sure, I have seen you, and rejoice to see you again.

Quer: Well, I'll arrange now so you won't rejoice again.

Mand: Alas, what have I done?

Quer: You ask, wretch, when you have plundered my house today?

Mand: Never mind that; I am no stranger here. I have conjured the house before.

Quer: Again to your magic? You have stolen my gold today.

Mand: Perhaps it was proper; was it not also for me?

Quer: Fine, indeed! But till now I have been alone. When did you become my new brother? How so old suddenly, you who shortly ago were not yet born? For if you scoundrel claim to be my brother, then you claim to be a two-year-old; for when my father Euclio went away three years ago, he left me the only one.

Mand: That is superfluous, I am co-heir, not brother.



Quer: That can hardly be right; indeed, I should prefer you to call yourself a brother than a co-heir.

Mand: What's the use of argument, Querolus? read this, take it; I know you are fair. (produces a document).

Quer: By Hercules, you have brought proof! Ah, what is this:

'Euclio the father, to his son, greeting: As I feared you might be robbed either by servants or someone extraneous, I have sent you Mandrogerus, a faithful friend attached to me since I left home, to reveal honestly to you what I left. To him you will give half, if his probity and faithfulness warrant'.

Well, sir, you have not fulfilled much of your part.

The document shows nothing due this fellow; I can have all if I wish. Or, if I choose, a little may be given him. So you were a friend and companion of my father's abroad?

Mand: The paper tells that.

Quer: You say nothing, though, about what was so faithfully committed to us. Proceed, please; as you have been made heir, produce something to be shared.

Mand: By Pollux, I have hunted up and given you the whole thesaurus untampered with.

Quer: Oho, you have already given me a thesaurus?

Mand: Do you deny it?

Quer: Unless you remind me of it; perhaps I have forgotten.



To what thesaurus do you refer?

Mand: The one Euclio left you; I have delivered it.

Quer: And how came the gold into your hands, you a total stranger?

Mand: O, I was joking, that you might later perceive my honesty.

Quer: Then you carried off the thesaurus and contents left by the old man, eh?

Mand: Yes, so it might turn out well for you finally. Another might not have delivered it to you.

Quer: Well, I say, you have joked long enough; restore it, and clear yourself.

Mand: Thank the gods; I am saved, friend arbiter. Did I say a while ago that a stranger could not have done this? Thanks to the gods!

Quer: The gods bless you, my best of friends, as you have fulfilled your pledge regarding me, the living, and him who is dead. But, I ask, where did you hide the pot? Show it up, as the old man directed. Produce the thesaurus; let a division be made, while the arbiter is present.

Mand: Nay, rather, you produce the gold, and prove your honor, now that I have explained my part.

Quer: Do you weary us, or tell the truth, Mandrogerus?



Mand: By Pollux, I speak truthfully and honestly; for though able to have kept all, I ask only a share.

Quer: Then my gold was in your hands?

Mand: Yes, by Hercules!

Quer: You shall not stir from here till you return that which, because you cannot deceive me, you confess to have taken. Now, I say, do you return what you stole?

Mand: I have already done so.

Quer: To whom? when? how?

Mand: Today, through the window.

Quer: Ha ha! Where did you find it?

Mand: Near the altar.

Quer: How did you get it out?

Mand: Here, through this opening.

Quer: Then why return it through the window?

Mand: 'Twas you carried the thesaurus out.

Quer: Beautifully, by Pollux, you have fulfilled the condition of the codicil, which specifies that you should deliver me the thesaurus honestly. But I will let that specification pass, as far as possible, if you will now bring it to me. This argument is useless, as long as the goods do not appear. Deliver what you refuse.



**Mand:** O, tempora! O, mores! O father Euclio! Did you foretell this treatment for me in your home? I have returned it, I swear by all the gods! I threw that same thesaurus, untouched, into your house.

**Quer:** O, good arbiter, he has admitted more than we expected; this, if I mistake not, is the very one who cast that funeral urn into my house.

**Mand:** The gods save you! That I did. The truth is out at last.....

**Quer:** Oho, rascal, crestfallen! Having disregarded the favor of the living, did you even carry on your joking jugglery against the dead? Not content at having dug up the ashes, you went so far as to throw them in here to me. What do you say to this? You stole the thesaurus, and desecrated the grave; abandoned wretch! Not only did you rob the house, but even polluted it, you reprobate! Do you deny it?

**Mand:** Please, sir, seeing fortune has so deserted me, I ask nothing further. Farewell.

**Quer:** But, by Hercules! I, against whom you directed all this deviltry, I have something to ask, you wretch! Here, Pantomalus, stop him! As soon as the praetor sits I will at once investigate and will punish



everything to the extent of the law.

Mand: Please, arbiter, put in a word for me. I ask nothing but a pardon.

Arb: O, my Querolus, do not rush into bloodshed; forgive and forget, that is the true victory. ....

.....I know you have always been merciful and humane. Do not let such a fine fellow leave you. He is a man of accomplishments. Here you have a magician and an astrologer, one that could not commit theft. Accept him, I ask, as a former and a renewed friend, as your father Euclio left him to you.

Quer: Ah, but I fear a thief.

Arb: Why fear a thief? He has already stolen everything.

Mand: Please, my dear Querolus, I formerly devoted myself to your father; now I wish to serve you, inasmuch as you have been so considerate of me. Having spared my life, grant pardon.

Quer: If you both request it, so let it be.....



APPROVED

M. S. Slaughter

Professor Latin

June 5, 1907.









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